

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----087043 122126Z /65

O P 121949Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6099
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 07577

EXDIS

FROM LOW

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV, US, UK, ZA, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: DISCUSSION WITH THE BRITISH--
GRAHAM-LOW MISSION

SUMMARY: WE DISCUSSED WITH GRAHAM AND OWEN STARTING
OUR MISSION IN LUSAKA IN LATE MAY, AND THEN GOING ON
TO SALISBURY, IN PLACE OF THE BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR

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GRAHAM GOING AHEAD EARLIER TO SALISBURY. NKOMO
TRAVELLED TO LONDON TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH DAVID OWEN
THURSDAY NIGHT. THEY WILL REPORT ON THAT SEPARATELY.
THE UK LENGTHY PAPER ON TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR OUR
MISSION IS IN EARLY DRAFT STAGE WHICH I WILL BRING TO
WASHINGTON. THEY ARE MAKING A MINIMALLY FORTHCOMING
PROPOSAL ON THE POLICE WHICH THEY WILL SEND BY SEPARATE
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HESSAGE NEXT WEEK. GRAHAM MET WITH UANC OFFICIAL
NYANDORO IN THE AFTERNOON PASSING ON TO HIM KAUNDA'S
OFFER TO MEET WITH MUZOREWA. END SUMMARY.

1. SEITZ AND I MET WITH GRAHAM, STEEL, AND THEIR GROUP
FRIDAY MORNING. THE MEETING WAS FOLLOWED BY A SHORT
CONVERSATION WHICH GRAHAM AND I HAD WITH DAVID OWEN,

THEN LUNCH WITH GRAHAM AND UK HIGH COMMISSIONER ALLINSON
FROM LUSAKA.

2. TRAVEL AND TIMING. OWEN HAS BEEN PRESSING GRAHAM
TO START HIS TRAVEL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THEIR PAPER
SUGGESTED THAT HE GO AHEAD TO SALISBURY IN ORDER TO ENABLE
HIM TO HAVE INFORMAL TALKS AS AN INDIVIDUAL RATHER
AS PART OF THE TEAM. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, I PUT IT
TO GRAHAM AND THEN TO DAVID OWEN THAT I AGREED WITH THE
CONCEPT THAT WE SHOULD HAVE INFORMAL CONVERSATION,
MANY OF WHICH WOULD BE AT THE LEVEL BELOW THE PRINCIPALS
AND A GOOD PART OF IT WOULD BE OF EXPLORATORY NATURE.
I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF BOTH OF US STARTED
OFF IN LUSAKA WITH CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PATRIOTIC
FRONT THOUGH NKOMO WILL PROBABLY BE OUT OF TOWN. AT THE
SAME TIME WE COULD TOUCH BASE WITH THE ZAMBIAN
GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH OWEN DID NOT TAKE TO THE IDEA
INITIALLY AND SAID WE HAVE PLENTY OF TIME TO DISCUSS
IT, GRAHAM DOES AGREE AND I SUSPECT IT IS LIKELY THAT
OWEN WILL COME AROUND. NONE OF THE BRITISH LIKE THE
IDEA OF TRAVELLING TO OTHER FRONT LINE CAPITALS
INITIALLY. IN MY OWN VIEW, WE SHOULD STICK TO THE
PRINCIPLE THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE WITH THE PARTIES,
THOUGH WE INFORM THE FRONT LINE AS WE GO ALONG. SINCE
THERE IS NOTHING NEW IN THE WAY OF INFORMATION TO
PASS ALONG TO THE FRONT LINE AT THIS STAGE, I DON'T
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BELIEVE THEY EXPECT OR WANT US TO VISIT THEM UNTIL
WE HAVE HAD A SESSION WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND
WITH SALISBURY GROUP. IT WAS LEFT THAT GRAHAM WILL
CONTINUE TO DISCUSS WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY.

3. MEETING WITH NKOMO. GRAHAM MENTIONED THEN OWEN
DESCRIBED IN GREATER DETAIL THE PRIVATE MEETING HE
HAD HAD WITH NKOMO THE NIGHT BEFORE AT HIS OFFICIAL
RESIDENCE HERE IN LONDON. IN THE BRIEF DESCRIPTION
OF THE CONVERSATION, OWEN SAID HE STOOD FIRM ON THE
POLICE, DISCUSSED OUR MISSION DESCRIBING US AS "ENVOYS"
RATHER THAN NEGOTIATORS, APPARENTLY REINFORCING NKOMO'S
HESITANCY TO MEET US FOR SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSATIONS.
NKOMO WAS REASONABLE AND WILLING TO BIDE TIME. HE
SAW NO POSSIBILITY OF A SPLIT WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC
FRONT THOUGH HE EXPRESSED IMPATIENCE WITH ZANU.
GRAHAM PROMISED TO GET OFF A TELEGRAM TO US DESCRIBING
THE CONVERSATION.

4. TERMS OF REFERENCE. BRITISH DRAFT PAPER WITH
TERMS OF REFERENCE WAS BEING COMPLETED AS WE ARRIVED. IT
IS LENGTHY, AND WE HAD TIME FOR ONLY A HASTY READING

OF IT. MOST OF IT IS DEVOTED TO RECAPITULATION

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----086751 122128Z /65

O P 121949Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6100
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 07577

EXDIS

OF THE PARTY'S PRESENT POSITION BUT PROPOSED STARTING
POINTS FOR CONVERSATION ARE SUGGESTED. I WILL BRING
COPY WITH ME TO WASHINGTON FOR THE DEPARTMENT AND
BRITISH EMBASSY. IT IS OBVIOUSLY ONLY A FIRST
DRAFT AND WILL NEED CONSIDERABLE MODIFICATION. GRAHAM
OBJECTED TO THE EMPHASIS ON THE CEASEFIRE.
HE BROUGHT THIS UP WITH OWEN WHO READILY AGREED TO
TAKING IT OUT IN PREFERENCE FOR DISCUSSION OF "MILITARY
EXCEPTIONS" WHICH WE UNDERSTAND AS REFERRING TO
TRANSITION PERIOD.

5. POLICE. SEITZ AND I NOTED THAT THERE WAS NO
TREATMENT OF THE POLICE ISSUE IN THE PAPER. GRAHAM
SAID THAT WAS BEING HANDLED BY SEPARATE MESSAGE WHICH
HE HAD NOT YET CLEARED WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY. //E,
DESCRIBED IT IN GENERAL AS HOLDING FAST
TO THE PRESENT POLICE FORCE STRUCTURE WITH THE ADDITION
OF A THREE-MAN OBSERVER FORCE--ONE UN, ONE PF, AND ONE
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SALISBURY GROUP REPRESENTATIVE. I NOTED THAT ONCE THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS REPLACED, IT SEEMED TO ME VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO SELECT A SALISBURY GROUP REPRESENTATIVE. WE ASKED ABOUT THE IDEA OF RECRUITING PF MEMBERS FOR THE FORCE. GRAHAM SAID THEY HAD NO OBJECTION TO ENTRY BY RECRUITMENT JUST AS LONG AS IT WAS NOT BY PARTY. I SAID IT SEEMED TO ME THIS IS A SUBJECT WE WOULD HAVE TO EXPLORE FURTHER IN OUR DISCUSSIONS IN LUSAKA AND SALISBURY.

6. KAUNDA OFFER TO MEET MUZOREWA. GRAHAM AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PASS ON KAUNDA'S OFFER TO MEET MUZOREWA. FORTUITOUSLY, UANC LEADER NYANDORO CALLED DURING THE CONVERSATION AND GRAHAM ARRANGED TO MEET HIM IN THE AFTERNOON. NYANDORO'S REACTION TO THE PROPOSAL WAS THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THE BISHOP ACCEPT IT PROVIDING IT WAS OUTSIDE OF LUSAKA AND PREFERABLY IN GABORONE. HOWEVER, NYANDORO WAS SKEPTICAL THAT KAUNDA WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO OFFER MUCH SINCE HE WAS SO FIRMLY COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING NKOMO. NYANDORO WAS RELAXED ABOUT THE HOVE AFFAIR. HE THOUGHT THE BISHOP WOULD PROBABLY GO BACK TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PROVIDING ADEQUATE ASSURANCE WERE GIVEN. THE ASSURANCE RELATED TO FIRM COMMITMENT THAT THE DECEMBER 31 DATE WOULD STICK--AN ASSURANCE WHICH NEITHER GRAHAM NOR I BELIEVE SMITH CAN MAKE.

BREWSTER

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START
TAGS: PDEV, US, UK, ZA, RH, (OWEN, DAVID), (NKOMO)
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